1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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121 than sociology. All that we attempt to observe, explain and compare occurs on or near a particular expanse of the earth's surface hereby conferring a unity to the studies we undertake.

The project thus far has been mainly designed to cover the agricultural sector (with all that that implies), but the impossibility of isolating any single segment of Maltese life has provided us with full justification for frequent divergence. Not only is it impossible to consider any element solely from the point of physical production; it becomes necessary to consider the wider and finally often more important factors such as, among others, social status, adaptability to change, and mental as well as physical climate.

We are therefore led to the belief that the facts here presented have an applicability wider than that to Maltese agriculture alone. It is not intended to produce a plan for specific lines of development - we feel strongly that this is not our function. Instead, we hope that our study will provide a background for development, the establishment of a factual corpus of knowledge that will allow development and future policy making by others.

In the case of the Maltese Islands, as in many other regions, such provision is not only necessary but imperative. During this century there has occurred a striking alteration of the status and importance of many dependent territories and newly independent states. Such rather sudden revaluations, inevitably consequent on erratic reactions to changing circumstances, are historically normal. Hitherto, however, resulting changes in sovereignty and economic and cultural ties have taken little account of the desires of the peoples concerned. Today, new ideas of political status are paralleled by ideas of development and 'natural rights' on the economic plane. Much of this, it is true, is a historical difference of degree rather than of kind. Although Malta for 5,000 years has always been part of some larger socio-cultural or political unit, it has always maintained a certain especial status of autonomy. Equally in the economic sector there has always existed some insular and independent activity. Nevertheless, more than ever before, the Maltese are and feel they are themselves now responsible for their socio-economic destinies. With such a responsibility, there arises a need, not always wholly welcome, and at times conceded only with reluctance, firstly for knowledge of basic facts relating to existing institutions, and secondly, for sympathetic understanding and appraisal of these facts. It is our earnest hope that this present work, which amounts to an extensive abstract of investigations and reports which are in themselves too specialized and lengthy for normal publication, will assist toward such an understanding.

128 The arrangement of the subject matter has been chosen in order to suit the attempt at integrating diverse but relevant material. Section One is devoted to studies of the physical environment. To the non-specialist much of it may appear prosaic and 'earthbound' but, as will appear, without such appraisal of limitations and possibilities any socio-economic analysis would remain overspeculative. In Section Two are considered the societies which have both left their impress on the landscape and produced cumulative responses to environment. Section Three contains studies of the contemporary rural scene; many of these directly and indirectly also help an understanding of non-agricultural activities. The concluding Section Four is an attempt to select and inter-relate the ideas and themes which have seemed to us of the greatest importance, and to present them in a single impression of the continuum which is Malta.

122 It remains to particularize, with deep gratitude, the assistance received during our investigations. Original interest, a kind of priming of the pump, came from Sir James Duff, then Warden of the Durham Colleges; and next, the support of the Colonial Economic Research Council, which provided financial backing for a large part of the survey. The Government of Malta also associated itself with the scheme, and provided powerful and indispensable support, financial and technical, especially through the Office of the Prime Minister, and Minister for Agriculture and his officials. As well, contacts with all officials of the Government, Imperial and National, were extremely fruitful, and personally most cordial.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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Chapter 1

A. GEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

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INTRODUCTION

The central Mediterranean islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino lie 58 miles due south of Sicily, 220 miles due north of Tripoli and about 180 miles east of Tunis. The Maltese archipelago trends north-west to south-east and is 28 miles in length. Malta, the largest and most southerly island, is 17 miles in length and nine miles wide and has an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is nine miles long, up to four miles wide, and has an area of 26 square miles. The island of Comino, in the Comino Strait separating the two islands, occupies only one square mile. A submarine ridge, averaging 50 fathoms in depth, extends southwards from the Ragusa peninsula of Sicily towards the islands, and it continues on as a broader and deeper shelf to the African coasts of Tunisia and Tripolitania. This submarine ridge, which separates the Mediterranean into two main hydrographic basins, represents a sunken land bridge which connected Africa and Europe during parts of the Pleistocene and later Tertiary.

The islands are entirely composed of Tertiary limestones with subsidiary clays and marls. Superficial deposits, mostly Pleistocene in age, take the form of cliff breccias, cave and valley loams, sands and gravels. The succession of Tertiary rocks on the islands is as follows:-

		Feet
5. Upper Coralline Limestone	at least	530
4. Greensand		0-50
3. Blue Clay		0-230
2. Globigerina Limestone		75-680
1. Lower Coralline Limestone	at least	626

The Lower Coralline Limestone and Lower Globigerina Limestone belong to the Aquitanian stage and the Middle and Upper Globigerina Limestone and Blue Clay to the Burdigalian. The Helvetian is represented by the Greensand and the Tortonian by the Upper Coralline Limestone. All these stages fall within the Miocene period, following Eames' recommendation that the Aquitanian is Miocene rather than Oligocene.

The strata have an undulating regional dip to the south-east and the islands are cut by a system of normal faults, striking ENE., which affects Malta especially and is responsible for cutting that island into a series of horst and rift blocks.

The first description of the geology of these islands was given by Commander T. A. Spratt (1843 and 1852) and later a general account was given by Murray (1890) and his work stimulated others, especially Cooke (1893, 1893a, 1896, 1896a), to examine the rocks in more detail. During this century Rizzo (1932), Paver (1943), Sir E. B. Bailey (1943) and Morris (1952) have added detail mainly in connection with an examination of the water resources of the islands. Recently the literature has been reviewed and summarised by Reed (1949) and Ilyde (1955). The fossils have been studied especially by Gregory (1891), Stefanini (1908), Roman and Roger (1939) and Eames and Cox (1956). The interesting fauna of the Pleistocene cave deposits have been described by Cooke (1891, 1896b), Cooke and Smith Woodward (1893) and Bate (1935), and Evans (1954, 1959) has described the prehistoric pottery sequence.

Note: Throughout this chapter, four-figure grid references have been used to locate the south-western corner of the kilometre grid square containing the feature named. The grid in use is that appearing on the standard two-inch map of Malta and Gozo, G.S.G.S. 3859, Edition 4, 1954, and reproduced on Fig. 3 et seq. The Roman numerals refer to regions marked on the inset map of Fig. 3.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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134 water occasionally is a further aid. This is difficult or impossible, however, without drains and irrigation, so that soils with a saline ground water, are probably irremediable, but they may not in any case be worsening very rapidly.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 The author is indebted to the Colonial Office, under whose auspices the field work was carried out, for permission to publish this account.

His sincere thanks are due to Dr. H. Greene and Dr. D. A. Osmond for criticism and 114 guidance, to the staff of the Analysis Section of the Macaulay Institute under Dr. H. G. M. 128 Hardie who performed the analyses, and to Mrs. D. Sutton for help in the preparation of the typescript.

[p. 98-A]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily. Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1912, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

In 1916 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11 ... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,250 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,175 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1905, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

slopes. With the exception of ta'Ċenċ, these areas also correspond to the most remote and difficult lands. Lastly, the tops of the smaller mesas, too restricted in area for permanent settlement, form lesser patches of waste.

NON-AGRICULTURAL USE (Figs. 97 and 98)

This category covers a variety of uses of land. The major element here is land occupied by settlements. In Malta, this includes true urban development as in the Valletta conurbation, agro-towns (the *casals*) and a small number of village-hamlets such as Mġarr and Bubaqra. Their limits, plotted on a six-inch scale, were drawn to separate true farmland from house-gardens, orchards and stockyards associated with the settlements. As noted previously, this has resulted in some slight exaggeration of the areas defined as 'built-up'.

In Gozo, Victoria is the only true town. Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Qala have small urban nuclei but otherwise consist of agglomerated farmsteads as also do the remaining villages. Field-work on a 25-inch scale has allowed a more precise delineation of the built-up areas and of dispersed settlement. The latter, as may be seen from the maps, bears a striking correspondence to the road pattern.

The 'Miscellaneous' category includes land used by the Defence Departments as airfields, barracks and other installations. For security reasons, a more detailed appraisal has not been made. Other types of land-use included here are quarries being worked at the time of the survey, as in the Naxxar-Għargħur and ta'Kandja districts of Malta, sportsgrounds (e.g. Marsa) and reservoirs as at ta'Ċenċ. In Malta, small groups of buildings outside the main settlements also fall within this category, whereas in Gozo only special cases such as that of ta'Pinu shrine and the Fort Chambray asylum are so marked.

The 15 different types of land use portrayed in the distribution maps are a striking illustration of the wide range of conditions, physical, human and economic, to be found within the Maltese Islands. A fuller picture emerges when the regional combinations of these elements are studied in detail and this is done in Chapter VIII, where different crop assemblages are used to define Agricultural Regions.

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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*311
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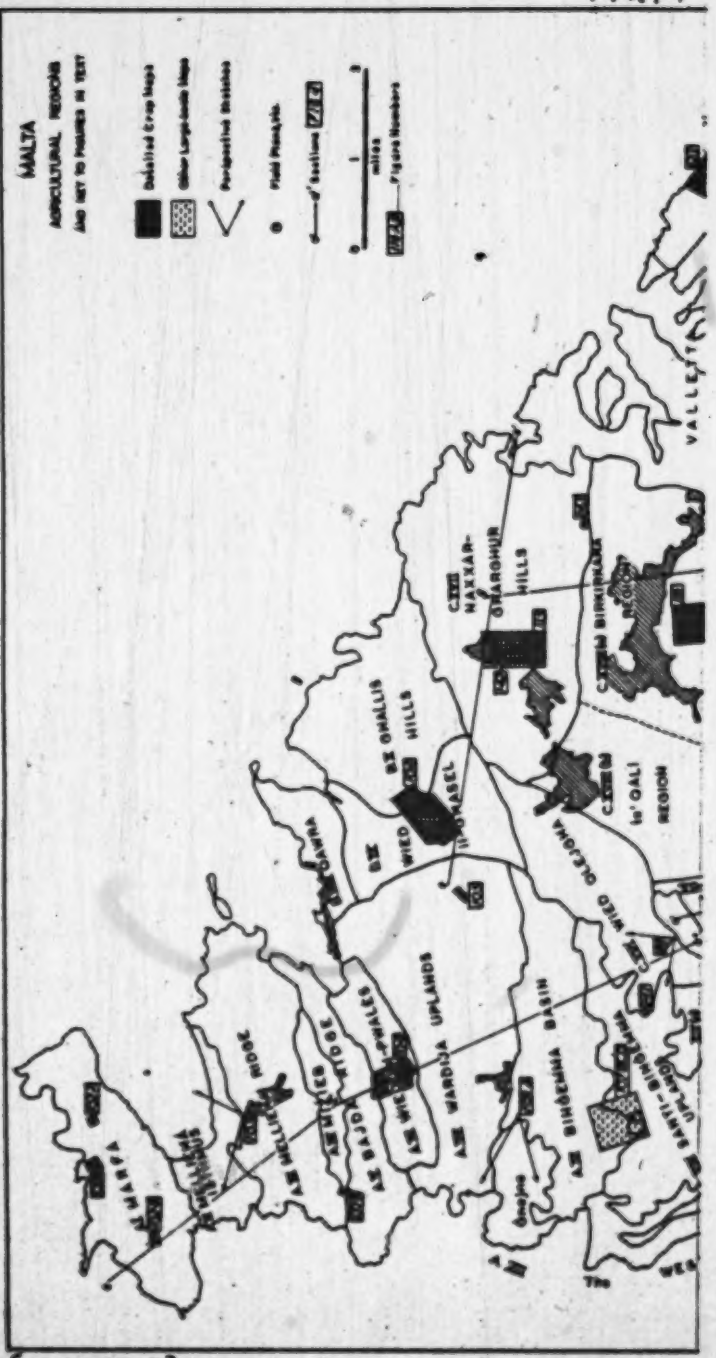
MALTA
AGRICULTURAL REGIONS
AND KEY TO FIGURES IN TEXT
Dominant Crop Maps
Other Large-scale Maps
Prospective Districts
Field Photographs
Cf. Sections
miles
Figure Numbers
VALLETTA
CASAL BIRKIRKARA
CASAL MIXXAR-QRENDI HILLS
CASAL ZEBBUG
IL-QAL REGION
WIED IL-KBIR
WIED ID-DISA
WIED ID-DALLI
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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

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Malta

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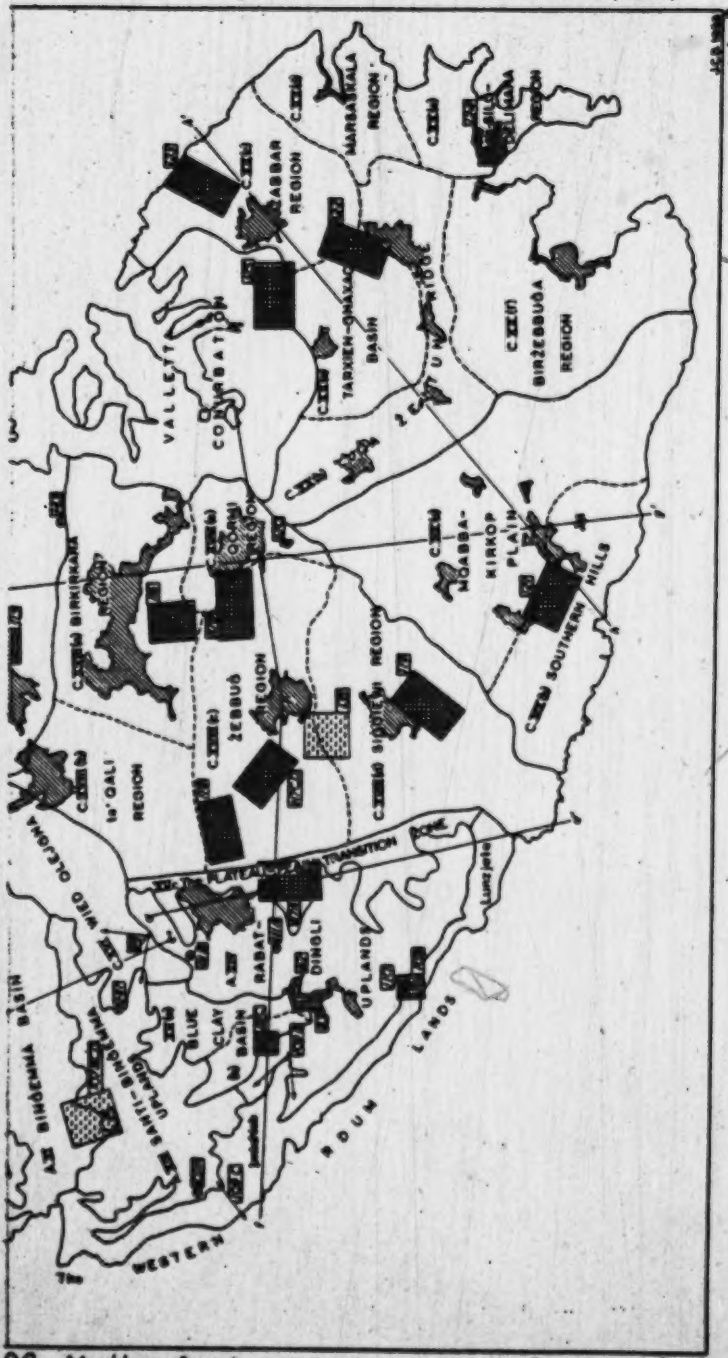

Fig. 99 Malta: Agri-cultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text.

[p. 236-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

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*311
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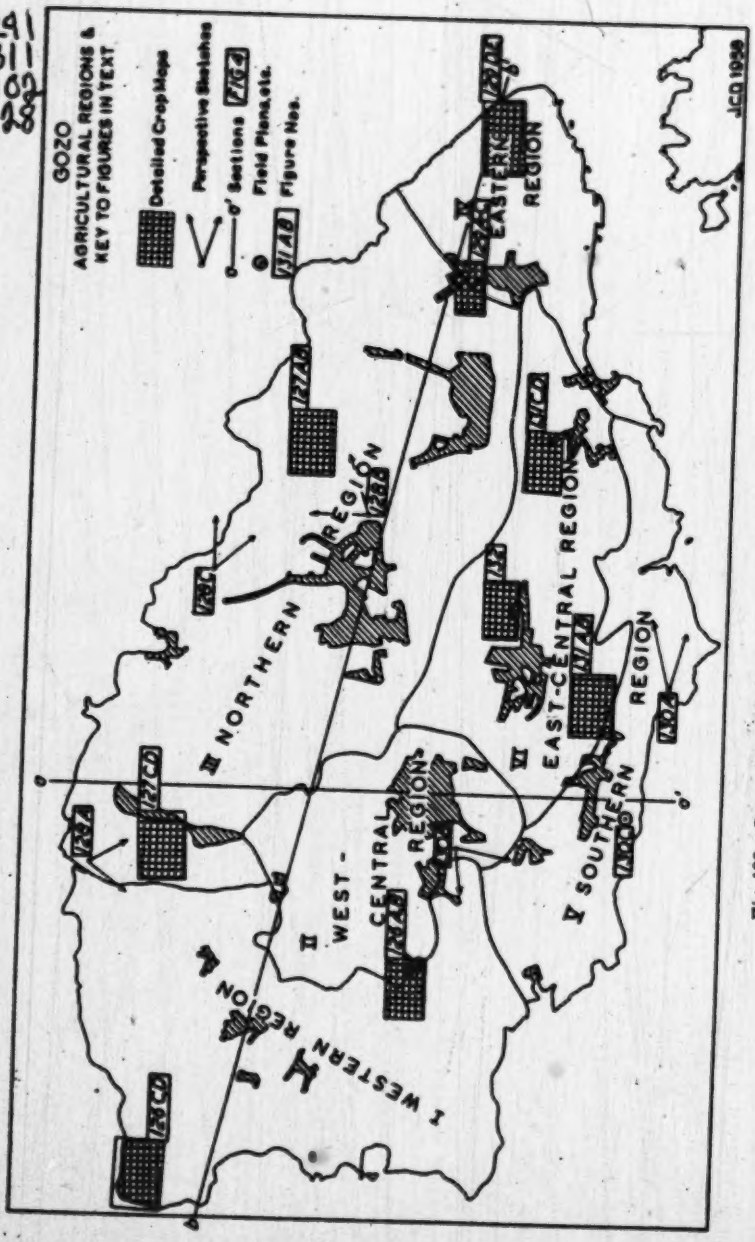

Fig. 100 Gozo: Agricultural Regions and Key to Figures in Text.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. The Lands of a Maltese Family

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It has been found possible to trace the landholding history of a single family back to its very beginning through four generations and slightly more than 100 years. Before about 1850, the family in question had no direct proprietary interest in land. Its members were landless labourers working mainly in the fields of various farmers in the northern districts of the island. They appear to have moved from farm to farm as demands for labour arose. Frequently they worked as a team, occasionally as individuals but always they were paid on a daily basis. Their home was in the casal of Mosta, and there is still some attachment to that centre, although few members of the family continue to reside there.

This study is based, fundamentally, on the oral tradition of the family, refined by studies of the Farm Register, Government Land Records and field identification. For ethical reasons, the family must remain anonymous; its members are therefore referred to by key numbers. The founder-father of our family and his five children are designated 0 to 5 as below. The progeny of each son are numbered similarly, the digits suffixed to the parent's number and so throughout. In addition, the lineage groups stemming from the original five children are distinguished by the letter A to E. Final suffixes 0 denote husbands of the females of the family. [127] [128]

The history begins in the 1850's with a family of five children and their father (0). Four of the children (2-5) were sons and worked for some time with their father as farm labourers. At some stage, the daughter (1), married a farmer with land in the Manikata area, and from her springs branch A of the family. Later, one of the brothers (2) married the daughter of a farmer who held most of his land at Ġnejn Għajn Tuffieħa, and lived nearby. On the death or retirement of his father-in-law, 2 acquired the tenancy of this land in the third year of an eight year lease which had commenced in 1862. Finding that he was unable to work this farm satisfactorily by himself he invited one of his brothers (3) to join him in the enterprise. When the eight year lease was renewed for a similar period, in 1870, both brothers became joint tenants. Their respective descendants form groups B and C of the genealogy. Another piece of land, which had been leased by 2's father-in-law for 99 years from 1861, passed to 3, neither 3 nor his descendants having any share in it.

Meanwhile, in 1857 or 1858, the father (0) and his two remaining sons (4 and 5) acquired the tenancy of an area of partially irrigable land at the head of the Ġnejna valley. Some 12 months earlier the land, with its terraces, had been severely damaged by floodwaters following very heavy rain. The landowner concerned was unwilling to assist the sitting tenant in the repair of severe storm damage to the extent which that tenant expected. Rather than bear alone the full cost, the latter attempted to sub-let outside his own family and was dispossessed by the owner. Our landless labourer (0) and his two sons (4 and 5) evidently felt themselves capable of tackling this reconstruction and, with the landowner's approval, took over the tenancy. It is uncertain whether the landlord gave them assistance in the form of reduced rent, whether they had some capital saved from their meagre wages which they could exploit here, or whether they depended for success entirely on their own labour. Some capital must have been available to them to cover the period of reconstruction and the sale of the first season's crop. It would be characteristic of the period if some financial help was given by the *pilhali* merchants who functioned as the land bank of that day. [426]

There is evidence that local opinion did not rate highly the chances of this landless group in restoring the valley to its former fertility. The story is told of local comment that the family would not stay 'from Christmas Day to St. Stephen's' (25th-26th December). After 100 years of continuous occupation the story affords the family some considerable amusement, but serves to illustrate the shaky nature of the original enterprise. [522]

[P.317]

Chapter X

THE PRACTICE OF FARMING

We have considered at some length the physical and social environments in which Maltese farming exists, the distribution of crops and of agricultural regions, and examined some of the physical and legal characteristics of the land holdings in which the land is worked. There follows a more systematic statement and a tentative interpretation of farming practice, and studies of the Maltese countryfolk (Plate XVIII). 128

A. Livestock

Livestock in Malta, with the exception of the wandering, wasteland-feeding, herds of sheep and goats, is rarely seen or heard. Cattle, pigs, poultry and rabbits are all kept in stockyards or enclosures, and horses, mules and donkeys, when not working in the fields, are stabled the whole time. Their near invisibility has caused us to omit mention of them in earlier sections. As noted in Chapter VII, the Maltese farmer, faced with land shortage as a result of the high population density, has chosen to cultivate stall-fed fodders as short-rotation crops rather than to grow pastures or perennial forages. It is difficult to believe that he has not made the correct choice if the criterion adopted is that of intensive and continual use of difficult land resources and the minimising of waste. 231 [246] 231

Numerically, goats are by far the most important (Plate XVII). During the past century, they increased tenfold in number, a fact which marks the amazingly rapid increase in milk consumption, but in the last decade the trend has been reversed. The indigenous breeds, highly regarded in the Mediterranean up to the close of the eighteenth century, have now almost entirely been replaced by crosses with introduced British Saanen types. These crosses, in which Saanen blood remains dominant to the third or fourth generation, are hardy and prolific milkers, considering the quality of feed. Goats have remained important not only because they still supply about 40 per cent. of returned milk sales (and a large amount produced domestically and sold illegally), but also because, together with sheep, they utilise the great extent of wasteland as natural pasture. Some feeding on field grown forages is practised - during the survey such feeding was observed at Marnisi on broad beans and at Wied Babu on sulla, for example - but this is rare. 234 311 [232] [246]

Land unusable for cultivation, and which makes up over 30 per cent. of the total area, provides the basic forage ration. Breeders and kids are given supplementary feeds of beans and hay crops. Although, therefore, goats are theoretically poor converters of fodder into milk, they cannot be displaced by milch cows without at once offending the tastes of most Maltese for goats' milk and cheese, and making the uncultivable land almost totally unproductive. Sheep, somewhat less numerous than pigs, and by far less valuable, occupy the same ecological niche as do goats. Used domestically in many areas for milking, and by far the cheapest meat animals, these predominantly hairy rather than woolled sheep, of a strong German strain, are one of the 'crops' of the barren lands. In the absence of statistics of fodder consumption, the only evidence available is that obtained in interview. It would certainly seem that sheep and goats use much uncultivated land in their demand for feed, and are almost the only media for obtaining any yield at all from one-third of the land of Malta and Gozo. (See also Chapter X C.)

Pigs, numerically the most important meat animals, are almost all of recently introduced breeds, the English Large White in particular, Berkshire, Wessex Saddleback and Middle White have been tried, but the Large White Yorkshire, even when bred for lean meat to an average weight of 180 lb., has 231 232

[See page 256 -- Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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C. Husbandry

241 128 In this section, a brief examination is made of those elements in agricultural production not previously considered. A methodological problem arises from the fact that, as should be abundantly evident, farming in Malta is a complex in which it is most difficult to isolate the various elements. The method adopted here is to examine in general first arable farming, and then livestock. In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to examine the general economic characteristics of Maltese farming and then to define the types of farms which exist in the Islands, with particular reference to the island of Malta.

242 As in all non-industrial countries with high population densities and limited resources, a paradoxical situation may be observed in Malta. The intensive application of manual labour and careful observances of the minutiae of traditional techniques are found alongside some instances of land neglect which offend all the canons of good husbandry. On the one hand are observed careful tillage sequences, a first shallow ploughing or hoeing to kill weeds, a second deeper ploughing one week later to break up the surface crust and 'stir' for aeration of the soil to a depth of some 6 to 9 inches, and a further ploughing just before sowing to produce a fine surface tilth. On the other hand can be seen hoeing and ploughing during periods of high wind during which steady and large-scale wind removal of the finer aggregates takes place. Similarly, single trees can be almost coddled, while orchards are most often neglected and, while village refuse and animal dung is carefully worked into the soil, little effort is made to discard inorganic rubbish or diseased and seeding crops and weeds.

This paradoxical situation is most clearly defined in the attitude to weed and pest infestation and to the use of artificial fertilisers. Weeds of many types occur everywhere, and their eradication is manifestly impossible as long as the areas of wasteland to be found in every region provide safe centres for propagation and diffusion. The very walls of Malta which line almost all the fields and roads shelter weeds and pests. Even if eradication is impossible control is not, and the inadequacy of present husbandry is a measure of difficulties both mental and monetary.

The most prevalent and damaging weeds are broomrape and *oxalis cernua*. The former is indigenous to Malta as a field weed, particularly in association with cereals and broad beans in the dry farming area. On the thin dry soils of these regions, broomrape competes, only too successfully, for the limited water available and for plant nutrient material. The total effect on yields and the negating of much of the effort put into leguminous crop rotations must be very serious. Chemical control seems unlikely, and the cultivators themselves are aggravating rather than ameliorating the position. One cultivator interviewed in Region C XVIIIa epitomised the situation. Complaining that 'the weeds are pushing us off the land' he pulled his sulla crop, carefully leaving his wild oats and broomrape to seed freely. It was not surprising that his immediate neighbour had given up farming.

Many similar situations may be observed. Partly they are to be explained by the diminished actual and psychological pressure on land resources. In the main however they imply a basic parochial ignorance left as a legacy from the more primitive past. A farmer interviewed in Region C XX e clearly illustrated the nature of the mental problem. On being remonstrated with, because while pulling his rust-infected broad beans he left the numerous broomrape plants to seed freely, he professed astonishment at our ignorance. Observation, he pointed out, showed that the root tissues of bean and broomrape were not only intermingled but conjoined. Obviously therefore *both* plants grew out of the planted bean and surface seeding had nothing to do with the weed infestation. The problem set is how to explain in a convincing manner to a medievally-minded farmer the following: 'The seeds (of broomrape) germinate in the soil if the fibrous roots of a congenial host plant are nearby. Otherwise they remain dormant ... as long as 13 years. When the primary root or radicle of a germinating seed makes contact with a fibrous root of its host, it forms a nodule of tissue

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farrug and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

I chose to work in Farrug because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farrug. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

30 per cent random sample. Those selected this way were Balzan, Dingli, Gudja, Gharb, Ghargħur, Mosta, Qala, Qrendi, Xagħra, Żebbuġ (Malta) and Żurrieq. I also chose Sliema, a large suburb, to provide a special contrast to the villages. Thus the general statements I make about Maltese villages are based on a fairly wide cross-section. 121

Thanks to the patient teaching of our friends Francis and Evelyn Chetcuti during the year preceding fieldwork, I was able to begin to work in Maltese soon after my arrival. Much of my work, however, was done in English, which many informants spoke fluently. 122

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Trafford Smith, former Lieutenant-Governor of Malta; to Mr. Maurice Abela, the Principal Government Statistician, and Chev. Paul Naudi, Director of Information, and their assistants; to Dr. V. De Pasquale, Chev. J. Galea, Mr. E. R. Leopardi and Mr. John Bezzina of the Royal Malta Library; to the Revs. Joseph Ghigo S.J., Paul Pace, Paul Said, Joseph Theuma, Benjamin Tonna, Charles Vella and Anton Xiberras, and to the Hon. A. Barbara, Dr. Brian Beeley, Mr. J. Cassar Pullicino, Mr. Francis Mizzi and Mr. Joseph Muscat for their interest and help in many ways. Prof. J. Aquilina kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of his unpublished work on Maltese proverbs. 000 127

I am greatly indebted to the staff and my fellow students at the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for their stimulating discussion, both formal and informal, of this material.

Finally, I wish to record here my very special thanks and obligation to Professor Lucy Mair, my academic supervisor, for the valuable criticism and patient help she gave me before and during my research and especially in analysing and writing up the material collected in the field. 128

Except for minor alterations, the present work is identical with the Ph.D. thesis I submitted to the University of London in November 1962.

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CHAPTER IX
Conclusion

128 This study has been concerned with Maltese village politics. It has looked at the ways in which persons and groups compete to influence the outcome of disputes and community decisions in accordance with their own interests. In particular, it has examined the nature of the groups, the issues between them and the means by which they influenced their outcome. The various groups involved varied from parishes to political parties, and from associations to factions. The issues between them, though they also varied, all had one thing in common: in one way or another they involved the Church. Whether the competition between parishes for the title of Basilica, between festa partiti over their saints or between the supporters of Mintoff and their opponents, all were somehow related to the Church. Much of the political action we studied involved attempts to influence its decisions.

175 795 It may now be asked why the Church is so intimately involved in political activity at all levels. Part of the answer lies in history, for in the absence of any form of civil government at the village level, the Church represented the interests of the people to the secular authorities governing the islands: first to the Knights of St. John, and later to the British. Thus for centuries the Church played the important political role of defender of the interests of the people. Its importance in the political and its dominance in the religious sphere reinforced each other. It is not strange that at the 795 village level the Church controls the outcome of many of the issues considered of importance to the community, since for centuries a village has had little corporate reality outside the religious framework. That is, it only assumes some semblance of [194] group solidarity or unity as a parish. As a parish its inhabitants own property, meet for worship, celebrate feasts, have a collective leader in their parish priest and a common symbol and patron in their titular saint. As members of a village, considered as a community outside the structure of the Church, they have and can do none of these things.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

female children are from Valletta and Sliema Government Elementary Schools, the male from the Government Elementary School and the Lyceum at Valletta, and include some of the students at the University.

The adult males have been grouped as follows:—(1) Malta, (2) Gozo. The Malta group has then been subdivided into Urban Districts; Rural Districts exclusive of Siggewo and Zurrico; Siggewo; Zurrico; sufficient measurements having been taken at the two latter villages to make statistical treatment of value (Table II). The adult females have been divided into (1) Malta, (2) Gozo. Malta has then been subdivided into Urban and Rural Districts (Table III). Unfortunately, sufficient women were not measured at any one village to make further subdivision practicable.

The individuals measured include among the men representatives of all social classes; among the women the lower social grades are chiefly represented. The men include professional men, gunners, militia, government messengers, men doing short sentences, paupers, and by far the largest class, "men in the street." The women include teachers, pupils at night schools, eighteen prisoners, patients in hospitals, paupers, and, again the largest class, any peasant woman who was not too frightened to be measured. All those who were either born of Maltese parents abroad, or although born in Malta are not of pure Maltese parentage, have been rejected. It is impossible in all cases to be quite certain, especially in the neighbourhood of Valletta. The measurements were taken in accordance with Martin's definitions (33); those on the femur follow Pearson (34). In working out the constants, the methods discussed in the Anthropology of Cyprus (37) have been followed. The limit of plotting selected has been such that the observations fall in from 15 to 20 groups. In head-lengths, for instance, this condition is fulfilled if the series be divided into 2 mm. groups. In order not to lengthen the report few comparative figures have been given.

For convenience of reference measurements have been referred to by their initial letters, which are given in brackets after each in the following list:—

A.—*Skulls.*

Ophryo-occipital length (O.O.L.).	Basi-alveolar length (B.A.L.).
Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).	Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Greatest breadth (G.B.).	Facial breadth (F.B.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).	Orbital breadth (left) (O.B.L.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).	Orbital breadth (right) (O.B.R.).
Nasal height (N.H.).	Orbital height (left) (O.H.L.).
Nasal breadth (N.B.).	Orbital height (right) (O.H.R.).
Basi-bregmatic height (B.B.H.).	Palatal length (P.L.).
Basi-nasal length (B.N.L.).	Palatal breadth (P.B.).

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

B.—*Living.*

141
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[104]

Glabello-occipital length (G.O.L.).	Upper facial height (U.F.H.).
Greatest head breadth (G.B.).	Total facial height (T.F.H.).
Minimum frontal diameter (M.F.D.).	Nasal height (N.H.).
Bizygomatic breadth (Biz.B.).	Nasal breadth (N.B.).
External orbital breadth (E.O.B.).	Internal ocular breadth (I.O.B.).
Bigonial breadth (Big.B.).	

The following indices were calculated on the living :—

Cephalic index (C.I.).	Total facial index (T.F.I.).
Upper facial index (U.F.I.).	Nasal index (N.I.).

On skulls, owing to the fact that it was impossible in the majority of cases to associate cranium and mandible, the total facial index was not calculated. The following additional indices were, however, worked out :—

Vertical index (V.I.).	Orbital index (left) (O.I.L.).
Mandibular index (M.I.).	Orbital index (right) (O.I.R.).

In a number of cases it was found necessary to work out the *significant difference* between two measurements. The method employed was described by the writer in a short paper on Cyprus, where it was shown that stress could be laid on the difference if it was greater than three times its own probable error. In order to avoid an excessive amount of figures, only significant differences have actually been tabulated. The symbols used are as follows: the Greek letter delta, Δ, signifies *difference*; epsilon, with a subscript delta, ϵ_Δ, means *error* of that difference. Measures, places and series are referred to by their initial letters, thus

	Δ C–V	ϵ_Δ
G.O.L.	1·93	± 0·63

means that the difference in the glabello-occipital length between the Chapel of Bones and the Valletta crania is 1·93, with a probable error of 0·63. At a glance it is often difficult to tell whether such an error is significant; we have therefore tabulated the difference divided by its probable error, using at the head of the column the $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ symbol. In the particular case referred to above $\frac{\Delta}{\epsilon_\Delta}$ is 3·06, and the difference is therefore significant. Owing to the necessity of preparing the data for publication in a comparatively short time, it has not been possible to work out as many correlations as might have been advantageous. A small number have, however, been worked out. Wherever it was possible to do so—that is to say, in the case of indices—the *coefficient of variation* method has been used, the formula employed

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

being, if I = 100 A/B be an index, then a good approximation is arrived at by the formula

$$r = \frac{V_A^2 + V_B^2 - V_I^2}{2V_A V_B}.$$

To take an actual example, the correlation between the head length and the head breadth of the females from the urban districts is arrived at as follows:—The data are, Coefficient of variation, G.O.L. 3·44 and G.B. 3·78, and C.I. 4·05. The correlation will therefore be arrived at by adding $(3·44)^2$ to $(3·78)^2$, subtracting $(4·05)^2$ from the result, and dividing the whole by 3·44, multiplied by 3·78 multiplied by 2. The answer in this case is 0·3750.

The following measurements were made on the mandible:—

Coronoid height.	Breadth of ascending ramus, called for brevity ramus breadth.
Condylar height.	
Sigmoid height.	Condylo-symphysial length.
Symphysial height.	Bicondylar breadth.

In the Chapel of Bones measurements on the mandible were taken on both left and right sides, and the constants were worked out separately. In the case of the other fragments it was seldom possible to measure more than one side, and as the measurements in the Chapel of Bones showed how extremely close the dimensions on the two sides were, side has been disregarded elsewhere.

Only one index has been calculated, namely, the mandibular index, that is to say, condylo-symphysial length multiplied by 100 and divided by bicondylar breadth.

VI.—Physical Anthropology.

Before discussing in detail the cranial measurements, it may be convenient briefly to state the general dimensions of the crania. The means of skulls vary from 179 to 188 mm. in glabello-occipital length, and the means of the living males from 185 to 188 mm. The mean breadths vary from 133 to 141 mm. on the crania, and 150 to 152 mm. on the living adult male. The cranial capacity, estimated from the glabello-occipital breadth, the greatest breadth, and the basi-bregmatic height multiplied together, the product being multiplied by 0·0003849 + 96, varies from 1390·6 in the case of the Neolithic, to 1437·9 in the case of the Romano-Maltese, the Mediæval skulls show a capacity, by this formula, of 1405·5, and the modern 1393·7. It is unwise, probably, to lay any stress on these figures.

The cephalic index varies from 71·4, the mean of the Neolithic crania to 79·0, the mean of the modern crania and the vertical index from 71·2 in the case of the Neolithic crania, to 75·0, the vertical index of the Mediæval crania.

The variations in the general dimensions of the crania are sufficient to warrant a more detailed enquiry into the development of racial history in Malta. A complete

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

those from the Mediæval hospital certainly suggest that those authorities who maintain that the hospital probably contained, amongst others, the bones of people from Western Europe are possibly in error. We should in that case have expected to find a high degree of variation. We do not do so. It may well be argued that the modern crania are too few to base any satisfactory arguments on, and we fully admit that it is unwise to argue from a series that never exceeds 42, and in some cases falls as low as 29. It would appear, however, that the modern series, of the majority of which the provenance was fairly exactly known, is consistently more variable than the Mediæval series from the Chapel of Bones. It would certainly be worth while to make a series of measurements on about 100 modern crania to see whether this statement really represents the truth.

Except in a few cases, it was impossible to associate mandibles with the crania to which they belonged, and unfortunately at the time when measurements were made on modern crania few mandibles could be discovered. The only series, therefore, of mandibles which could be treated statistically are those Mediæval specimen from the Chapel of Bones. Even in this case it was not found possible to get a series as large as 300 for every measurement. The majority of these, and probably all, are male; any doubtful cases having been rejected. The Neolithic and Romano-British mandibles are also probably male. The Bronze Age mandibles appeared from the associated bones to be female, but the condition of the latter was such that a definite opinion could not be expressed. In general terms there are certain marked differences between the mandibles from Hal Saflieni and elsewhere, whereas the Romano-Maltese and the Mediæval mandibles, although differing in detail, present a general similarity. The coronoid height and the condyloid height of the Neolithic mandibles are both lower, the ramus being of about the same breadth. The condylo-symphysial breadth is about the same. The Mediæval mandibles have a slightly lower ascending ramus than the Romano-Maltese, but the former are slightly more stoutly built; the mandibular index is quite possibly about the same. Generalizing, we may say that the Neolithic mandibles belong to a type with a rather short, broad ascending ramus, and a shallow sigmoid notch, whereas the Mediæval mandibles have the higher ascending ramus and the deeper sigmoid notch which are usually associated with various branches of the Alpine race.

A collection of teeth was made from the bone heaps at Hal Saflieni.[1] Unfortunately no teeth of more recent date are available. Out of a total of 224 adult teeth from Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic), 15 upper incisors and canines showed a marked edge-to-edge bite. Caries occurred in 19 cases; there was a complete erosion of the roots in 2. One incisor had two roots. Speaking generally, the teeth

[1] I am indebted to my brother, Mr. J. L. Dudley Buxton, for examining and reporting on these teeth from the point of view of a dental surgeon.

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

extremely different, due possibly to differences in environmental conditions or dietary habits.[1]

Pigmentation figures, then, seem to support a conclusion which had already been arrived at on other grounds, namely, the relationship between the Maltese and the mixed Armenoid population of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Coefficients of Correlation.

The coefficients of correlation which have been worked out refer only to those figures which are utilized for indices. Unfortunately some of the series are too small for this treatment. For the most part the coefficients of correlation do not suggest, in the four series of characters which were selected, any great differences. There is a significant difference between the correlation of the total facial height and the bizygomatic breadth in the male and female, a condition which is probably due to the more developed masticatory apparatus of the male. The difference between the correlations of head length and head breadth between the urban districts and Siggewe is of interest when we compare the means and the coefficients of variation of those measurements absolutely, and confirms to a certain extent our hypothesis that Siggewe possibly represents a local deviation from the normal Maltese type. Differences between the urban district females and the rural district females are found in four characters (total facial height, bizygomatic breadth, nasal height and nasal breadth) suggesting conditions one of which can be referred to food and the other to climate, but the absence of confirmatory evidence in the males makes it necessary to withhold any conclusions until further correlations have been worked out.

Looking at the figures generally, the correlated characters show remarkably little correlation, and the absence of real differences between the various groups goes far to suggest that the differences between the various parts of the archipelago are not in any way of fundamental importance.

The coefficients of correlation on the skulls are unsatisfactory, owing to the paucity of material. The extremely small correlation between glabello-occipital length and greatest breadth from the Chapel of Bones is of an unusual character. It can hardly be illusory when worked out on so large a series, but the explanation is not apparent from our present data.

VII.—Racial Problems.

The racial problems connected with Malta are extremely difficult to deal with, because they raise certain social questions. Historically the matter may be summarized briefly as follows.

[1] Both Meligala and Mani are situated in the Peloponnese.

4: Cassar P-4, 5 (no date) 1964 EZ6 Malta EZ6

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Director of the National Museum, Valletta, Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A., and to Mr Jos. Spiteri of the same department for their kindness in taking the photographs; to the Rev. Jos. Tanti and the Rev. Canon Jos. Zammit, administrators of Tal Mirakli Church and of Tal Hlas Church, respectively, for allowing me to publish pictures of 'ex-votos' preserved in their churches.

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CAPTIONS TO PLATES

1

Plate I

Fig. 1. Silver votive offerings representing various parts of the body. The model between the trunk and the ear is a stylized form of the female breasts. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

532 782

Fig. 2. This leg of baked clay is from the Roman ruins at Ras-ir-Raheb to the north west of Bahria, Malta. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Fig. 3. Bronze dies of liver and lower limb used by Maltese silver smiths for the manufacture of the silver 'ex-votos'. Scale in centimetres and inches. (By courtesy of the Director of the National Museum, Valletta. Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

Plate II

Fig. 1. The picture tells the story so clearly that no inscription is attached to it. Note the Maltese type of windmill and the costumes of the peasants still in use during the last century. Tal Hlas Church, Qormi. (Photograph by Jos. Spiteri.)

532 782 789

Fig. 2. The landscape is not Maltese. Presumably this 'ex-voto' was offered by a foreigner or else the donor was a Maltese who met with a riding accident abroad. The letters V.F.G.A. stand for 'Votum Fecit Gratiam Accepit' (A vow was made and a favour received). Tal Mirakli Church, Lija, Malta. (Photograph by Captain C. Zammit, F.S.A.)

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1 [plate I will be found facing p. 24; plate II faces p. 25.– Ed.]

Rev.Fr. F.P. Mizzi; Social Action Movement, Valletta.
Mr. F.A. Munn; Secretary to Admiral Superintendent, H.M. Dockyard.
Mr. L.M. Pace; Registrar, Royal University of Malta.
Mr. Rossignaud; Department of Labour and Social Welfare, Valletta.
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Rev.Fr. Michael Saliba; Rabat.
Colonel Slade; Department of Statistics, Valletta.
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(3) INTRODUCTION

This report is composed of five main sections:

(i) The first is a brief examination of the major features of rural society in the Maltese Islands (Section 1). The report begins with some attempt at definition and discussion of this society, with special emphasis on the socio-functional changes which have emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(ii) Sections 2 to 5 consider the present-day Maltese farmer against the background of this society in which he lives and works, and attempt to outline the essential problems now facing the farmer and farming in the Islands. In Section 2, the technical and operational difficulties confronting the farmer are examined along with those remedies at present available, which, it is hoped, will make farming not only more attractive and profitable for the farmer but will also strengthen it as Malta's only basic industry. Section 3 includes an account of the place of money in Maltese rural economy with special reference to the recent emergence of a long list of new demands which the farmer now makes as part of the general change from the independent peasant subsistence of the past to the inter-dependent, commercial and money-based farming of today. This Section concludes with a discussion of these demands and the new changed actual and expected (i.e. demanded) living standards of the farmer. It appears that although rural standards have risen very considerably over the past hundred years the standards demanded have increased even more rapidly in relative terms so that the countryman is able today to complain of an inferior economic position within the total community. The attitudes and outlook of the farmer are discussed in Section 4 in so far as they are important in an understanding of Maltese agriculture as it exists today and to any 'official' or other efforts to improve the industry and the

● 128 lot of the farmer.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Bowen-Jones and Dowdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part .7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

6: Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

OOD and the Graph.

NB: Typographical Note.

104 In Maltese orthography the
●128 aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer has taken the liberty of omitting the second bar in the capital H and of adding a bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'h'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented 'gh'.

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In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as[15] an unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets are still held there even though the main ones have gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

Using this type of analytical approach, a classification of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/361) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

(1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

361 Mellieha (1841), Mgarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kercem (1885), San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911), Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 In the period reviewed the major development has been
361 the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the
369 Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2:- The Farmer and Farming

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DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525)
241 have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is
423 the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either
[114] individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer.
311 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact
423 that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many
423 farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward
178 trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of
423 size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called
[128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 6: CASE STUDIES

*159 ● 128 This section is divided into three parts:

PART 1. Thirteen Case Studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo. In each Case a general discussion emphasizes important particular features against the total background of farming in the Islands. Each Study concludes with a Summary[47] of the farmer and his farming classified under the following headings: A - Land; B - Utilisation; C - Livestock; D - Capital; E - Labour; F - Production and Sales; G - Husbandry; H - General. The adoption of a standard system facilitates comparisons of any one Study with all the others.

[104] The examples chosen include[48]

CASE I (Pawlu): A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE II (Ġużepp): A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III (Wardu): A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV (Wistin): A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V (Anġlu): A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI (Gaetu): A milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE VII (Wenzu): A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII (Niklaws): A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX (Antnin and Ġakbu): A long-established partnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.

CASE X (Ġamri): An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI (Pietru): An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII (Ċenzu): A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII (Toni): A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of agriculture.

PART 2. Cases XIV to XXII comprise studies of farmers and others who operate large tractors and other heavy agricultural machinery. These illustrate the discussion, in Section 2, of the place of such heavy mechanization in Maltese farming. An exhaustive study was made of CASE XIV to which particular attention is drawn as it emphasises a number of points made in the general text of the report - especially those concerning the place of the younger generation of farmers today.

●128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialisation which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

PREFACE

In these pages I have endeavoured to give a short description, and, where possible, the origin of the principal Holiday Customs, Amusements *and* Sports *of the Maltese people, which I hope will prove of some interest, not only to the foreign visitors who happen to be in Malta during the time in which some of these popular customs are being observed, but also to most of the Maltese themselves, for while the observance of these customs is perhaps no where stronger than in Malta, tradition as to their origin is scanty in the extreme.*

There being in our Island, as in other countries, an array of superstitions, beliefs and practices, I have also collected in this volume, in the hope of making this work more interesting, some of the principal items of folk-lore which have been handed down to us in popular traditions, tales, rhymes, and proverbs.

V. Busuttil.

Vittoriosa,
20th June 1894.

[P.V]
[P.iV is blank]

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

consists in cutting open a live rabbit and applying it with the still warm entrails on the stomach of the patient. 755 [825]

Piles—Carrying about a dried fig in one's pocket is considered a good specific for this complaint. [824]

Rheumatism—Amateurs of the healing art advised the sufferer to carry about a dried fish in his pocket as a charm for its cure. [825]

Sty—To prevent or cure this disorder it is customary for the patient to throw over his shoulders seven grains of barley in a well. [824]

The superstitiously inclined say that a sty forebodes the inheritance of some riches. [787]

Beside the omens and superstitions briefly described in the preceding pages 128

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

128 there are many other items of folk-lore associated with our daily-life. Our object, however, being to give in this section only a brief sketch of that folk-lore which has, from time to time, woven itself around the affairs of our home life, we leave to others the task of exhausting the interesting subject relating to those old world notions and quaint beliefs which marked the social and domestic life of our forefathers.

THE END.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Preface to the Second Edition

SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED IN MALTA SINCE THIS BOOK WAS LAST reprinted that it has seemed desirable to add a new chapter tracing the momentous developments in the Island since the end of the war. This addition apart, I have revised the book throughout in the light of new knowledge now available on subjects dealt with in the earlier parts. I have added a twentieth-century author, D. H. Lawrence, to the writers whose views on Malta are presented in Chapter XIV. A number of admirable photographs newly taken for the Government Tourist Board by Miss Ann Bolt, A.I.B.P., replace, by the kindness of Mr Philip Barker-Benfield, Chairman of the Board, certain illustrations become obsolescent.

I have fortunately been able to keep my experience of Malta up to date by almost annual visits in the last decade, including two as the guest of Sir Gerald and Lady Creasy, three more prolonged visits to Major-General Sir Robert and Lady Laycock, and a more recent one to Admiral Sir Guy and Lady Grantham, to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their sustained hospitality, as to Captain and Mrs Olof Gollcher on earlier occasions.

In renewing my thanks to those mentioned in the earlier preface, I must also record my gratitude to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Trafford Smith, C.M.G.; Colonel Victor Vella, C.V.O.; Dr the Hon. Lewis Galea, C.B.E.; Dr V. A. Depasquale (the Librarian) and Mr Joseph Galea of the Royal Malta Library, for information on several points. Mr Charles Zammit, now Director of Antiquities, has been most helpful with illustrations of the prehistoric period. I thank Sir Hannibal Scicluna and the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction for the photograph of Caravaggio's *Beheading of S. John the Baptist* after restoration in Italy, the *Times of Malta* for the view of Mdina, Mr Wilfred Flores for taking for me the colour photograph which forms the frontispiece, and, for two photographs, the Result Studio of Sliema.

H.C.L.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

shores, are composed of more than the physical elements of air and water. The implications and repercussions of Maltese politics when I had experience of them were unfortunately often international and sometimes politico-ecclesiastical (these can be very prickly); not infrequently they impinged upon the most fundamental constitutional principles. For the relations between Church and State have given rise to controversies that have troubled Christendom since the Dark Ages; other Maltese problems were equally deeply rooted in a long and complicated past. Their implications and repercussions bore, in fact, a striking resemblance in certain directions to those of politics in the Palestine of the Mandate, where I had previously served. Happily the Maltese scene lacked one factor—the ambiguity of the established policy—which in Palestine made an administrator's life a hell on earth; in other respects politics in Malta could be almost as corrosive, almost as pervasive. But they will not pervade this book, nor even enter it except occasionally for the sole purpose of *constatation*, that untranslatable word.

These, then, are the things which this book is not. I find it less easy to state what it is. I have called it an "Account and an Appreciation" because I can think of no better definition of what I have tried to do in the chapters that follow. A reviewer of one of my previous books remarked that Malta was the only part of the Mediterranean about which I had not written. At least I have now repaired that omission, if omission it may claim to have been.

The book was begun in Malta, continued in Barbados, finished, of all places, in the Straits of Magellan, the eye-witness account of whose discovery, written by Antonio Pigafetta, a Knight of the Order of S. John, was dedicated to Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the first Grand Master of the Order to reign in Malta. I left Malta in 1938, whisked from the land-locked Mediterranean, where from choice I had served during most of my career, to the greatest of the oceans, the Pacific, at the other side of the globe. Since my